THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.-- Saturday, July 7, 1923. ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT BREEDS UNEMPLOYMENT INEVITABLY.

VOL. X. No. 16. SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1923. WEEKLY.

Manifesto of the Unemployed

Workers' Organisation.

A REVOLT AGAINST FUTILITY.

Fellow-workers,—

The above is the name of a new organisation which is not in any way connected with another organisation known as the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement. On the contrary, this organisation is the outcome of the inability of the N.U.W.C.M. as at present constituted to accomplish anything approaching a better satndard of living for the workers, whether employed or unemployed.

Three Years Wasted.

We contend that the reason the N.U.W.C.M. after three years' attempt at organisation, has not accomplished anything, is because it has been dominated by professional politicians, many of whom have never been workers, and consequently know nothing of the working-class movement. This makes the movement a catspaw of political parties and has the effect of dividing the workers against themselves instead of uniting against the forces of Capitalism.

A Better Policy.

Therefore the principles on which the unemployed workers organise will be built as follows:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common; there can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found amongst the millions of the working people whilst the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

Not Work or Maintenance, but Abolition of Wagedom.

Instead of the Conservative motto of the N.U.W.C.M. "work at Trade Union rates or maintenance at Trade Union rates," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the Wage System."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organised not only for the everyday struggle with Capitalism, but also to carry on production when Capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new Society within the shell of the old.

Direct Action.

Realising that poverty caused by unemployment cannot be permanently abolished by palliative methods, we advocate the intensification of the class struggle by the application of direct action whenever necessary and whenever possible.

No Affiliation to Labour Party.

We are opposed to affiliation to a counter-revolutionary party as the Labour Party or such a reformist party as the Communist Party of Great Britain.

We likewise oppose affiliation to such reactionary organisation as the Trade Union Congress, and reject the R.I.L.U. because it admits Trade Unions to affiliate.

We firmly believe in the application of a rigid dictatorship of the proletariat when the collapse of Capitalism arrives, but until that time does arrive we strongly object to the dictatorship of a clique or caucus of self-seeking politicians who make the "united front" an excuse for their own self-aggrandisement

No Reformism.

We fully expect to be charged with trying to split the movement—that is a stock cry of the politicians—but that will leave us quite cold. Who has split the movement more than these pseudo revolutionaries? They have made discipline a fetish instead of trying to understand what it means. In effect, they say: "Unless you agree with all our reformist ideas, unless you submit to our dictatorship, you cannot remain in our movement," forgetting that the workers' psychology does not permit of mental slavery.

On behalf of the Joint Committee,

ALFRED J. MUMMERY,
Chairman.

G. E. SODERBERG,
Secretary.

We shall return to the subject next week, and will endeavour to show that the C.P.G.B. is dominated by middle-class opportunists who have not the remotest understanding of the desires and aspirations of the working class, and that the N.U.W.C.M. is dominated by C.P.G.B.; that is why it is incompetent to organise the workers.

Communications to the Unemployed Workers' Organisation should be addressed to the Secretary, Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E.

Industrial Organisation.

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

Mr. Guy Aldred, arguing in a recent debate, said there must be no industrial organisation before the social revolution, because he believes that such organisations will work for palliatives.

At the same time, he defended his attempt to secure election to Parliament under pledge not to take his seat, in these words:

"If I had been elected I should have thrown myself into this agitation, and that agitation, and at the end I should have said: 'We here outside Parliament have done more than has been done inside!'"

We do not know why Mr. Aldred should wait to throw himself into agitations until he has obtained a seat in Parliament; but the question arises as to what would those agitations be into which Mr. Guy Aldred would throw himself after election? Would they be palliative agitations? Would they be agitations to secure palliative reforms? There seems no doubt of it, as Mr. Aldred seemed to indicate that they would be agitations arising of themselves, apart from his own initiative. We know, alas, that the agitations apt to break out in Glasgow to-day are not yet for the ending of the private-property system, but for relieving just the particular place where the Capitalist shoe is pinching the workers hardest.

Moreover, Mr. Aldred added that he would say: "We here have done more outside Parliament than has been done inside." Apparently, then, he expected to meet his supporters with a record of achievement. Mr. Aldred evidently did not mean that he would thus rapidly overthrow the present system. It seems that the things Mr. Aldred anticipates that he would accomplish by throwing himself into "this agitation and that agitation" must have been those naughty palliatives of which he is so much afraid.

One would like to know whether Mr. Aldred, in banning industrial organisations, condemns only the workshop committees or also the Trade Unions. Does he call upon Communists to leave the Trade Unions?

Why Workshop Soviets?

Why do we advocate the Soviets or Workers' Committees in the workshops before the revolution? Because they are a good fighting weapon, and a preparation for the Soviets after and during the revolution.

There are at present more than 1,200 Trade Unions in this country. It is inefficient to have so many organisations, because unity of purpose and action is not promoted thereby, also because they are costly.

If each of these organisations meant another idea, and this multiplicity were the result of different policies, at least we could say that the workers were thereby wrestling to discover new aims and better methods, that they were reaching out towards higher levels and further advancement. That is not the case with the multitudinous Trade Union organisations. Broadly speaking, they all represent the same goal and the same method: no difference of principle divides them. But for such things as benefit funds, the vested interests of officials and the Conservative

backwardness of members, the Unions in each industry at least would all unite, and presently one Union for all industries would be formed.

There is, however, a difference between the Workshop Committees and the Unions that strikes deeper than the question of multiplicity of organisations.

A Question of Structure.

The structure of the Unions is not the structure of the Workers' Committees. The Unions are governed from a central office. Each Workers' Committee governs itself, and the Committees act together as occasion arises. In the Workers' Committees there are no officials to be paid by the efforts of the members, or intimidated or influenced by the Government and employers. There are no large funds to be seized by the Government should conflict arise.

Delegates appointed by the Workers' Committees to attend conferences or do other work are merely recompensed for loss of time and provided with out-of-pocket expenses.

No Official Class.

No specialised official class is developed. The delegates chosen by their fellow-workers only leave the workshop temporarily. They return to it as soon as the business in hand is complete. They remain members of the rank and file proletariat.

Suppose a delegate is victimised?

If a delegate is victimised he will be like any other worker thrown out of employment, either because the employer desires to replace him or has nothing for him to do.

If his fellow-workers so decide, they will strike for his reinstatement. If they fail to accomplish his reinstatement they will go to the dole like other workers who lose their jobs.

If the employer refuses to employ any hands who belong to Workers' Committees, what will happen?

Solidarity.

The same thing that happened when the employers refuse to employ Trade Unionists. The Workers' Committees may be secret, or they may fight in the open, and must suffer victimisation when they cannot overcome the power of the employers. In America the I.W.W. has maintained itself against the most acute persecution by the employers and their extra legal bands and by the forces of the State. In California and other States membership of the I.W.W. has been held sufficient to procure a conviction for criminal syndicalism, and long terms of imprisonment have been dealt out to those who hold the Union card. In California members of the I.W.W. called to give evidence on behalf of their comrades have been arrested immediately on admitting membership of the I.W.W. Yet the I.W.W. have not been intimidated. They have flocked from all over the United States to testify in California—the danger zone—as to their membership of the Union. The early Trade Unionists in this and every country where Trade Unionism was at first declared illegal by the State, defied the law and organised both openly and secretly. Shall we expect less from those who desire to set up the Soviets of the workshops; from those whose object is to destroy the private-property system?

A Good Fighting Weapon.

We saw during the war that the Workshop Committees in the country could be a good fighting weapon for the workers. We saw that the workers secured improved conditions through them, when the official-ridden Trade Unions utterly failed them and became the instrument of the Government and the employers.

The Trade Unions here attacked the Workers' Committees here as bitterly as did the employers. Mr. Henderson, the Trade Union Labour leader, was the Cabinet Minister responsible for deporting the leaders of the Clyde Shop Stewards. When we advocate Workshop Committees we know that we shall meet with the hostility of the Trade Union officials, but that need not deter us.

The Goal.

As the breakdown of Capitalism draws nearer, the conflict of opinion as to what shall replace it grows keener. Is it to be State Capitalism pure and simple; or is it to be some dual control of society by a Parliament of professional politicians and of officials of Trade Unions, and perhaps also Co-operative Societies? Are the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies to be the controlling force? Are all these to make way for the Workers' Committees?

This issue is vital, for on the decision depends whether the new society is to be a combination of the Post Office type of administration and the trusts, or some modification of that, or a free Communism. The question is whether the basis of social organisation is to be government and control of persons, or the administration of services, to be freely used by all. Only through the Soviet or workshop basis can the free Communism develop.

The Parliamentary Communist or Socialist (the meaning of the word is originally the same, let us remember) believes that Socialism can be secured through the ballot-box by Act of Parliament.

The anti-Parliamentary Communist believes that the change cannot be brought about superficially, but must be the work of the mass of the people through their own actions.

The change that must be created by the people will not merely be a matter of breaking heads through, since Capitalism is based on violence, heads may be broken in this as in other great changes. The change must be fundamentally a change in the way of life, work and thought. Is it conceivable that a people panting after the Soviets and Communism "as the hart pants after the water-brooks," will wait to take any step thereto until the Parliament of Westminster has passed a law ordering them thus to proceed?

The Inefficiency of Parliament.

Some Parliamentary Socialists look rather to the leaders than to the masses, believing that the masses must be drilled into Socialism by the cultured few.

Would any Parliament take the great step of imposing Socialism upon a reluctant or even an apathetic people? We think not.

Moreover, we believe that, since a territorially elected talking assembly, like Parliament, cannot administer production, distribution and transport except in an outside and authoritarian manner, Parliament will never be the body to bring Socialism about. This, we believe, is the task of those who do the work of production, transport and distribution—the services of the community.

As to the anti-Parliamentary Communist who says that the Soviets of the workshops must not be organised until after, or that they may only be started during the revolution, we ask them these questions:

What Force Will Work the Change?

If the Soviets are to come after the revolution, what force is to make the revolution? You deny that it will be Parliament; what force, then, will make the revolution?

The French Revolution was made by the villagers and the communes of the towns; in Paris it was the local sections that carried on the struggle. That was before the time of large-scale industry. Conditions are changed now. The coming of the factory system, with the factory-like school, and the home now only a sleeping place for the employed worker, has grouped the workers industrially. It has made them more capable of working in the mass, less capable, alas, of taking individual initiative. That will have to be largely recaptured. The Workers' Committees are a school of mutual co-operation, service and personal initiative; for all are equal members. There are no officials.

The anti-Parliamentary Communist who does not want the Soviets of the workshop until the hour of crisis would leave the Trade Unions as the unchallenged leaders of the workers until the decisive hour when action is demanded. To do that would be fatal.

Moreover, when is the revolution to begin? Who can be sure of recognising its beginning, who can predict its duration?

For our part, we believe that the revolution will begin the day that the first Workers' Committee is formed and takes an action which is a direct attack upon the system of the private ownership of the means of production, distribution and transport.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

LETTERS OF KARL LIEBKNECHT.

Translated from the German by G. B.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

September 21st, 1915.

My Dearest Children,—

We have had a hard day here to-day, and a terrible evening. A Russian attack from Riga took us by surprise. Now we are busy digging out new quarters in the front line of defence. It is very cold. All round us there is wild rumbling—hell is broken loose overhead. **I shall not fire. . . .**

Your loving FATHER.

September 22nd, 1915.

Dear Children,—

The night passed without an attack, and reinforcements have just arrived. Quite early this morning the artillery got to work. These are unforgettable tremendous hours for me. I experienced strange sensations, as if witnessing a big fire, an earthquake, and tigers roaring, all at the same time. We are crushed under it. Efforts are extracted from the men which they are not fit to sustain. . .

TO H'S SON.

My Dearest Helmie,—

October 4th, 1915.

. . . We are still at the front. . . . I only hope I shall not be obliged to go in the trenches—all the rest, however dangerous, does not matter; but to massacre each other like that, that I cannot do—it is too much.

In what a state of misery the population is here! Almost all have escaped, and the houses are deserted. Of course, everything has been carried off by the Germans, and even from the few people who are left nearly everything is taken, not requisitioned in return for a proper receipt, but just simply carried off. To-day a poor woman came here whose last pig had been taken from her with a forged requisition form. And the soldiers, unfortunately, only laugh as a rule at such inhuman acts; very rarely do they seem to understand the real state of the population. Rape and pillage are twin brothers of murder, and, like the latter, are legitimate children of war. I have proved this by long experience.

Enormous quantities of field produce are wasted; no one troubles to gather it and store it. Just enough for each one's immediate needs is gathered from the ground, and the rest abandoned.

I have been reading three dramas of Euripides—Medea, Hypolite, and Iphegenia. All three contain some wonderful passages. Do you read Greek tragedies yet? Eschylus or Sophocles? It will soon be time to read them, and then you must get to know our own poets better than you do now. Write soon and often, and tell me everything. A thousand kisses to you.

YOUR FATHER.

October 8th, 1915.

Dearest,—

So many things have happened. Yesterday at midday a bomb fell into the house next to us—result, one killed and one wounded. This morning at half past eight one of our men, while at work, was severely wounded in the stomach; he is still alive. Yesterday at midday a shrapnel burst just over my head while I was in the yard

attached to our quarters, talking to the sub-lieutenant. A ball fell between us, and I picked it up from the ground. We are lodged in a little cottage near the forest of the Duna. The German heavy cannon, which up till yesterday was planted all round us, are all displaced with the continued firing. We are on "night work"—that is, we go off at out half-past four in the afternoon, and at at out five we arrive at the entrance of the trenches. We stumble and crawl through the labyrinth in the dark for about three-quarters of an hour till we arrive at our post, where we work for about an hour, and then a couple of hours' march back from the entrance of the trenches to our quarters. At three in the morning we get our coffee, and then "to bed"—that is, our straw, our cloak and blanket, in a freezing cold stable. To-day there were two degrees of frost.

It is a magnificent, intoxicating starlight night. Orion is just mounting in the sky, and my Sirius, our Sirius, is shining over my head. A feast of celestial light burns between the autumnal branches, and I am hidden in the earth—in a cemetery. Rifle shots ring out, now singly, now many together. The Russians are posted between fifty and seventy miles before us and behind us on the other side of the Duna, and we are wedged between them. In the distance before us, on the right, the lightnings flash, precursors of the storm. After a few seconds the thunder bursts and we feel the breath of the monster pass over us. To shelter—that is, down on the ground. Closer, closer still. Has it passed? An explosion sounds near us, and I get up. I hear someone tell me to mind the splinters that are flying about. A bad shot—the splinters fly off. Twice splinters have fallen near me on my way to work about half-past ten in the morning, when I was accompanied by the sergeant-major, after assisting the lieutenant commanding the section in drawing out plans. The entrance to our position was brought under fire with the Russians' usual precision of aim. We are much safer where we are at work. Huge projectiles fly over our heads and beyond us, but we are sheltered from the splinters. We are working in the midst of little mounds and crosses, with the branches murmuring over our heads and the sparks dancing about all round us. A soldier near me suddenly disappears—a grave has sunk in under him, and he is treading on the corpses. The hole is filled up and the work continues among the mounds and the crosses and the corpses, among the roars and explosions, and the hissing of the bullets. Horrible!

Dress at once! A Russian attack is probable. Fire rockets fly up from the German lines. We lie down, and then climb out of our ditch, which is separated by about 30 or 40 yards from the length of trench already dug out. We stumble over the graves, over the bushes; nobody knows the direction of the principal dug-out. My spectacles are caught by a branch and fall down in the grass. I manage to feel them by the merest chance. The officer in charge is in a rage with me. We quarrel for a moment, but I keep my temper, for he is a good fellow, although not very brilliant, and very fearful. I told him I should not fire even if I were ordered to, although I might be shot for it. Many others are of my mind. We are talking loudly, and in a moment the bullets are whistling about our ears. The Russians have heard us; they listen for each blow of the pick.

I have got rid of my rifle again, and went off to my work unarmed, and feeling so free! Yesterday morning, after being at work all night, I felt almost cheerful. I felt, and saw, and lived this autumn as I did in my youth, in our peaceful days, as I did with you. And still I feel superior to all that is happening or may happen. How can I describe that to you? I worked and read Dante. And this beautiful starlit winter night in the middle of autumn! All external troubles seem trivial. Even if my bodily strength fail, I will still laugh at them.

A few days ago an inquisitive artillery officer asked me if I liked work; I was busy just then carrying manure. I answered:

"Yes, if we were only at peace."

"Of course," said he, "because then you wouldn't be doing this work.

"On the contrary," I retorted, "I would do it willingly."

And he, much surprised: "Do you do it unwillingly now, then?"

And I: "Yes; I can do nothing willingly just now, nothing that serves to help the war."

He has not recovered from it yet.

It is three o'clock in the afternoon. In an hour and a quarter we commence work, but before that there are potatoes to peel for to-morrow, and I have to work on the report of a Socialist International organisation. I have nearly finished it, although of course it has been done very hurriedly. The arrangement of the material is very incomplete, but there is not time here.

Don't worry about me. The men worship me. They come here and gather round me from all parts, and they send me something of all they have. My eye is nearly well. Send me some tobacco; send a little every day in your letter if parcels are forbidden. I need it very badly. Pray take this small trouble for me—write to me every day. Since September 13th I have received nothing from you. How is Beba? Be thankful that he is out of the hell of the western front. Kisses to you and the children.

Your KARL.

DOPEY DUDS.

By L. A. Motler.

There are a lot of fast people in the world, Henry. Not the least among them are the men in goggles and baggy pants who turn out aeroplanes that make the fastest Derby winner a left at the post. The wonders of science are marvellous, but you will have heard that somewhere before in last night's stop press.

Being interested in scientific things myself, and having a mood of inquisitiveness on me, I recently jammed myself into a 'bus wending thitherwards to Hendon to see the hush-tush planes which have hitherto been concealed from everybody except all the newspaper correspondents, the foreign spies, and all the lady friends of such officers as have 'em.

We had a goodly sight of the future Fascisti showing us how to cut figure eights in the sky, swoop down on imaginary strikers, and bomb disguised native rebels to a place warmer than Amritsar. The Windsor family, some of whom were there, and the 100 M.P.s, must have gone home to a sound sleep, secure in the knowledge that if the workers ever get an up-and-doing feeling they will be well and truly upped and done.

There were about 80,000 of the Dubb family there, excluding me and Matilda; and they not only had their earsight rejoiced, but they were also supplied with some dope not used on aeroplanes but issued in connection with the same.

In other words, some kind millionaire had financed some Air League of the British Empire to hand out some of the goods about the air peril which was knocking at your door whilst you were trying to break your neck in the effort to tell a half loop the loop from a loop and Marcel wave.

We used to have a Navy League that made our flesh creep about super-whooper-Dreadnoughts, and suchlike things. With tears in our optics we forked out so that the armament firms might have more money to spend on young ladies swimming about in champagne at the end of the menu; or, maybe, four-and-twenty blackbirds (with the accent on the birds) jumping out of the Lancashire pie, with less feathers on them than is usually worn by the best-dressed birds.

Later on things began to slow up, so we had Lord Roberts up and doing us in the sacred name of National Service, which enabled the Army contractors to go one better than the champagne baths and get up a competition where the fastest gent who made a quick change of his partner got the chicken and free cham.

When the war came nobody needed to front up any dope in order to make the rhino and the wine-o flow more easily. But like all good things, the war didn't last long enough to please everybody. It is now five years since the last performance of Upping and At 'em was given, and the price of birds has gone up since, and they keep rising (that being the nature of birds). Hence we have half the aristocracy falling over each other in an attempt to recover our Lost Air Supremacy.

Most common people, when they mislay anything, usually apply at the nearest police station. But a Supremacy is a difficult thing to describe to an ordinary station sergeant, who probably wouldn't believe it, and anyway would want to know what name it answers to when called. So at Hendon we had each of us—at least Matilda and me—a beautiful prospectus describing tearfully how we had lost our Air Supremacy—which, strangely enough, me and Matilda hadn't noticed before.

And if you don't feel the loss of it much, here is the name of the Duke of Dotheland—tut-tut, Sutherland—putting his name at the top as President, followed by one Viscount, two Lords (although we were told at Sunday School there was only one), three Baronets and one Right Hon. as Vices. Half a battalion of Colonels, Commanders, and plain Esquires follow in the modest distance.

For a paltry fifty quid you can become a Patron Saint for life; but if you are content with being only a member, ten Jimmy o gobs will do the trick, Henry m'lad. And what you will get for it?

Firstly, you will be helping to insure your home (which you haven't got, or maybe mortgaged) from harm.

Twothly, your country (which you will find on your soles when you've been churning up the mud) will be safe from attack (Praps.)

Threedly, your Empire (about which you know less than the bare-legged birds you see hopping about at the local Empire) will be assured from aggression.

So there you are. Bankers, the Westminster Bank, and a stamp in the left-hand corner, means: "Who are you calling Dubb?"

If, however, you feel you would sooner cash up to a man who offers you better value for your tuppence, here it is:

1. Nice houses and no rents.
2. Nice clothes, also no rents.
3. A nice job.
4. Nice food, including the necessary half-and-half. And all for a paltry penny a week, or delivered to your own doorstep for free and frippence for six months.

So if you have three and threepence to shed, prepare to shed it now.

RATIONAL LIVING.

A radical, independent magazine for the workers, devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living in present society, always emphasising the social-economical-industrial background of wrong living. Stands for prevention of disease, for conservation of health, for drugless healing, and against all swindles in the healing professions. Special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 del. (7/6 for 12 numbers). Our famous book, "The Child and the Home," by Dr. B. Liber, on the radical upbringing of children, special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 del. (7/6). Address: Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New York.

Buy your magazines from your regular newsagent, and ask him to show our poster.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Matter for Publication— To THE EDITOR:
Business Communications — To THE MANAGER.
WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT,
152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Three Months (13 weeks) ...	Post Free	1/7½
Six Months (26 weeks) ...	,, ,,	3/3
One Year (52 weeks) ...	,, ,,	6/6

Vol. X. No. 16. Saturday, July 7, 1923.

Our View.

Agricultural Workers Victimised.

THE GOVERNMENT ADMITS that over 1,000 men who took part in the Norfolk farm strike have been refused reinstatement. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who played the part of mediator, drafted the settlement, and induced the strikers to accept a wage of 25/- a week and abandon their demand for 30/-, should feel it his duty to intervene. What is he waiting for?

• • •

Papal Intrigues.

THE VATICAN has shown marked friendliness to the Fascisti dictatorship, and has hailed Mussolini as a "saviour of his country." In return, the Mussolini Government has restored images of the crucifixion to the elementary schools. That is but the symbol of the return of the power of a reactionary church over the education of the workers' children.

The Pope's most unjust and hypocritical condemnation of German resistance to the French invaders, and his demand that German passive resistance shall cease, is a move in the intrigues in which the Roman Catholic Church is engaged to recover its old power in Italy and France. The Pope is profoundly grieved, says the Papal declaration, "at the many acts of sabotage committed by Germans in territories occupied by France against the French. His sorrow is all the greater because these acts of sabotage are contrary to the principles of Justice and Charity which the Pope has always proclaimed."

"Justice and Charity!" Is there any of that in the Ruhr occupation? The Pope, like many other diplomats, assumes that the great Powers have a monopoly of Justice. When the world war was being fought, the Pope preserved an attitude of impartiality. His followers, and those he wished might be his followers, were on both sides. Since the Central Empires have been hopelessly beaten, he orders them to submit to their oppressors. That this is another Pope matters not; the Papal policy changes in no essential feature. The Pope is but the representative of one of the great reactionary forces of the world, and he acts in accordance with the policy which he and the most powerful clique of his colleagues believe to be in the interests of their Church.

It should be observed that "His Holiness" is "greatly concerned" lest Bolshevism spread in Germany as a result of the popular sufferings. If the people appeal to the Pope, as unfortunately some are still apt to do, he will give them neither bread nor a stone. He will pray that they may be suppressed by the troops of Mussolini.

• •

English Women Police for Germany.

STARVATION is forcing the German girls in the occupied areas to prostitution. English policewomen are being sent to Germany to deal with the situation. We should like to know precisely what their duties will be. Are they to feed the German girls, or to drive them away into virtuous starvation? Or, on the other hand, is it their mission to see that prostitution is carried on under the regulations made by the British military authorities? Will the women police be called upon to assist in the inspection and regimentation of women hired for the use of the troops?

• • •

White Terror in Poland.

THE RULERS are evidently anticipating that a new uprising of the people may again threaten their power. The "Manchester Guardian," which specialises in the discovery and publication of secret documents, has now published two secret circulars sent by the Polish Minister of the Interior, Mr Kiernik, to the Governors of provinces on April 11th and June 5th, 1923. In these documents occur the following highly significant passages:

"In the near future the Government will take steps to combat by legislative means the movement directed against the State, but to-day I consider it necessary, M. Voyevod, to call your attention to the responsibility you bear for security in the province which has been entrusted to you. The upholding of this security will be regarded as a measure of your own administrative qualifications."

Minister Kiernik explains that in view of the coming conflict between the State and those hostile to it, he will grant the Governors the right to use armed military or police to maintain order during processions and demonstrations, or when arresting suspects. He recommends the service of couriers to coordinate operations in town and country. Evidently extensive operations are projected.

He also says:

"In view of the exceptional importance and fundamental significance of the Bill for the protection of territory, Constitution, representatives' dignity, and the neighbourly relations of the Polish Republic, I hold it necessary before the legislative bodies finally discuss and accept this Bill, the chief aim of which is to combat attacks against the community, to obtain your views so that they may be taken into consideration in the proposals for this Bill which the Government will submit to the Judicial Commission of Sejm. . . .

"I would like you to support the view that persons who avow themselves to be Communists, or are in the service of the Communist Party, must be recognised as traitors by the law, traitors who organise attacks meant to overthrow the existing order, and who must be punished by death

"I also consider it necessary that you shall similarly stress the view that the Communist elements in the legislative bodies, in the self-governing corporations, and in the social institutions, must be dissolved.

"While the Bill is being discussed the Government will consider the suggestions sent in by the voyevods, and will put forward a demand that prosecutions for Communist activities shall take place according to summary methods and within a period to be definitely fixed."

These passages mean:

1. That Governors who do not toe the line of the Government's murderous intentions are to be dismissed.

2. That Communists who have been popularly elected to legislative bodies are to be put off those bodies.

3. That membership of Communist organisations is to be made punishable by death, and that there is to be a widespread Government massacre and persecution of Communists.

Remember that when Poland first secured its independence as a nation the Polish Socialist Party secured a Parliamentary majority, but resigned from office through inability to grapple with the resistance to its authority of the landlords and capitalists.

These things could not be if the workers were educated and organised to resist them. Workers will be used as the tools of the Polish reaction to suppress their fellow-workers.

Labour Party Vagaries.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, in moving the previous question to the Republican resolution at the Labour Party Conference, assumed an air of Olympian impartiality. He, of course, is a republican, but some of his colleagues differ, don't you know. He omitted to state, it seems, that he is one of the culprits against whom the resolution was aimed. He had lunched with the King at Buckingham Palace long before those others who are now being condemned for such fraternising. He only told the Conference that he had been in the company of a queen and had sat behind some princes at a football match.

When you have won the social revolution, added Mr Lansbury, you may decide to dispense with the monarchy.

Quite so; but we thought Mr. Lansbury was opposed to revolution; and how is the revolution to be won until the old institutions of Government have been removed?

• • •

The Cautious Imperialist.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, at the Labour Party Conference, was most vehement in his attack on the Barrow Labour Party. Ostensibly the chief basis of his anger did not lie in the resolution Barrow was putting forward, but in the fact that his Barrow colleagues had failed to secure the return of a Labour candidate to Parliament. The reproach was singularly inapt in the mouth of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald; was he not the guide of the Leicester Labour Party for ten or fifteen years? Did he not nurse that constituency with assiduity before and during the time he was its Parliamentary representative, and was he not finally rejected by it and obliged to take refuge in a new constituency where the educational work had been done by others? One may observe incidentally that the Socialism preached by those who prepared the way for him in Aberavon was of a robuster character than that which Mr. Macdonald recommended to the consideration of his Leicester constituents.

Certainly Mr. Macdonald is too much aware of the disappointments which attend the propagandist to have chastised the Barrow Labour Party so severely as he did for failure to win success at the polls. The Barrow resolution was an attack upon Imperialism, though by no means an extreme one. It rightly declared that the oppression of subject peoples is to be found throughout the British Empire, and called upon the Labour Party to appoint a committee to investigate the matter and report.

Mr. Macdonald knows it is an axiom of all those influential ones, from the King downwards, who have a stake in the Empire, that British foreign and Colonial policy is continuous, and does not change with the changes of Government. Mr. Macdonald is anxious to convince the mighty ones, from the King downwards, that the Labour Party will adhere to the traditional policy and will be as vigilant as the other parties in maintaining the Imperial prestige and power.

• • •

No Army, No Navy.

THE I.L.P. RESOLUTION calling upon the Labour Party in Parliament to vote against all naval and military estimates, again revealed the determination of the official element that the Labour Party should show no tendency to adopt an extreme policy. Mr. Sidney Webb declared that the resolution would put the party in an impossible position, whilst Mr. Arthur Henderson, opposing the resolution, declared defence to be necessary.

• • •

The Dock Strike.

WE CONGRATULATE the dockers on their independent fighting spirit. They have shown that they are capable of action and determined to manage their own affairs, in spite of the reactionary officials who do not feel the pinch of falling wages. Mr. Bevan told the Bermondsey dockers that unless he is in a position to declare a strike of all the ports in the country, he is not going

to be a party to bringing out the men in any port and sacrificing them. The statement was decidedly inapt since the demand of the Bermondsey mass meeting was that the London dockers should come out in support of their comrades in other ports.

At this time the need for a Workers' Committee organisation amongst the dockers is clearly seen. May it be formed during the present struggle.

Solidarity is the need of the hour, but not solidarity only amongst the dockers. The ship builders and repairers missed the support of the dockers in their last strike; will they support the dockers now? Will the railway men and other sections of workers also join the struggle?

The employers are united; will the workers also unite?

The Unemployed Workers' Organisation.

WE PUBLISH on our front page the manifesto of a newly formed Unemployed Workers' Organisation, and in subsequent issues we shall give further space to the activities of this organisation in our columns.

We are glad to do so, because we believe that the basis of the organisation is sound in the main. We hope that it may develop into a sturdy fighting body.

The organisation appears to have sprung up spontaneously. As a matter of fact, it is the result of a steady growth of progressive opinion, and it is the natural outcome of that Left-Wing opinion which was a factor when the original unemployed organisation was formed of numerous diverse elements.

The original organisation, which now calls itself the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, has drifted steadily rightward since its formation. Originally the object stated on its membership card was the overthrow of the capitalist system. Now its objects are stated on its card as follows:

> "The objects shall be to educate and organise the unemployed with a view to establishing the principle of 'Work or Full Maintenance at Trade Union rate of wages.'"

The original organisation has also applied, unsuccessfully, for affiliation to the Labour Party. Its activities have been greatly modified by the desire to secure such affiliation. This was specially evident at the time of the march to London, when the great effort ended with unexpected tameness under Labour Party influences.

One phrase has crept into the manifesto of the Unemployed Organisation which requires discussion. It is a phrase of which all Communists have made use, both of late and also since the days of Marx, Engels and Bachunin. We refer to the term "the dictatorship of the proletariat." This in its original use meant the rigid suppression of the middle and upper classes in so far as they may endeavour to resist the coming of Socialism and to combat the popular will.

Latterly, under the inspiration of Russian bureaucrats, the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" has been used to justify the dictatorship of a party clique of officials over their own party members and over the people at large. So far has the dictatorship been carried that the parties submitting to it have become utterly sterile as instruments of education and action. In Russia the dictatorship has robbed the revolution of all it fought for; it has banished Communism and workers' control.

Liberty is an essential part of the Communist revolution. We must not sacrifice it to the ambitions of would-be dictators.

Mr. J. H. Thomas wants the free lance 'buses off the roads. What would happen, he asks, if the big 'bus and railway combine were to go out of business?

One expected the Labour Party would have thought this a great opportunity for the L.C.C.; but Mr. Thomas is too much concerned for the profits of his "close friends," the directors, to think of this.

JOIN THE DOCKERS.

The dockers have kicked over the traces, fellow workers. They refuse to surrender another shilling a day to the boss in order that Messrs. Gosling and Bevan may honour their agreement with the employers.

Messrs. Bevan and Gosling have decided to stick to the agreement. The dockers have therefore decided to look after their own business this time. It is about time, too, fellow-worker.

The Union (that is to say, the Union officials, fellow-worker) has issued instructions to the workers to stick to the agreement; but first the dockers in Hull, then in Cardiff, Barry, Bristol, Avonmouth, Portishead and London, have struck work. The strike is spreading like wildfire.

It is high time someone made a stand, fellow-worker, against the arrogance of the employers, and the crushing down of the workers' standard of life.

But I want to ask you, fellow-workers, what is to be the outcome? Is there going to be another "Black Friday" victimisation of the workers who have struck, or is there going to be a spread of the strike into the shipyards, on to the railway, and right through industry?

The last move was official, and the officials of the Triple Alliance sold the miners. Mr. Frank Hodges was a party to the sale.

This time it is a rank-and-file move. Will the rank and file in the other industries leave the dockers in the lurch, or will they rally to them for a united stand?

J. H. Thomas has been warning the railway men of attacks on their wages. Will the railway men also throw over the traces?

Now is the time, fellow-worker, that you discover your need for a Workers' Committee Movement. You cannot afford to be like sheep without a shepherd when the Trade Union bosses decide to stick to their agreement with the employing bosses.

The dockers, however, are not behaving as sheep just now, fellow-worker; what about you?

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

CONTENTS OF GERMINAL No. 1.

COMPLETE STORIES.

Comrades.—An hitherto unpublished story by Maxim Gorky.

Mbonga Jim.—By L. A. Motler.

The Glutton.—By Marius Lyle.

Utopian Conversations. — By Richard Marsden.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Poetry.—By James Waldo Fawcett, Wilfred Wilson Gibson, Clara Cole, H. D. Harben, E. Verney, Alexander Blok, L. A. Motler, Lionel Grant, Anna Akmatova, Sylvia Pankhurst.

Portrait.—G. Bernard Shaw, by Ludovic Rodo.

Drawings and Cuts.—By M. C. Haythorne, Herbert Cole, B. Stevens, Joseph Southall, Maurice Becker, Gross, A. Swift, Marcel Vertes, etc.

Coloured Cover, Ludovic Rodo.

Price 6d.

Ready next week.

"DREADNOUGHT" SUMMER SALE.

Comrades are urged to get busy collecting and making goods for the Summer Sale and Garden Party in aid of the "Workers' Dreadnought," which is to be held shortly. Books, pictures and drawings, furniture, clothing, farm produce, groceries, cakes, sweets, jams, toys, fancy goods, hats, shoes, tobacco, tools, etc., etc., will all be gratefully received.

IRISH NEWS.

In Dundalk Gaol four men occupy cells intended for one. In most cases they lie on the floor, as no beds are provided. The cell doors are shut between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m. Prisoners are not even allowed out to the lavatory between those hours. The atmosphere becomes appalling. The bedclothes have not been changed since the Free State took over the Gaol. It is filthy and verminous. No books or clothes are supplied to the prisoners, and the majority are in rags. The sanitary arrangements are terribly bad.

Prisoners are constantly assaulted by officers and men of the military staff. One man, after being badly wounded, was actually beaten by an officer, while several men were badly battered with rifle butts. There are underground "punishment cells." On the slightest of pretexts prisoners are forced to remain in these torture chambers over night. These places have long ago become filthy, as men are not allowed out to the lavatories when confined in them.

Notwithstanding the sort of atmosphere which exists in the gaol, prisoners are not allowed more than 2½ hours open-air exercise per day, even in very warm weather, and over 300 men are forced to exercise in a "ring" 35 yards in diameter. Female prisoners in this gaol have no one but soldiers to attend them. Some prisoners never receive parcels which were sent them from home, and others receive parcels minus some of the original contents. Any Free State soldier has access to the parcel office at any time. There is no regular delivery of letters to prisoners, and in numerous cases it is impossible to know from whom the letters came when the censor is finished with them.

The physical condition of prisoners in general is pitiable, the health of several is permanently injured. Men are not allowed to go from one laiding to another without incurring the risk of being fired on by the sentries. The sentries can use their own discretion in the matter of firing, and are even encouraged to do so by their officers.

ESPERANTO IN PRISON.

The Superintendent of the prison at Auckland, New Zealand, has introduced Esperanto to the inmates. Classes are held, and a large number of inmates attend them with interest. Nine of the men have passed the examination for the B.E.A. Diploma, and others are studying for it.

ESPERANTO.

Lesson 24.

PRONUNCIATION OF THE VOWELS.

I was greatly pleased to read in the "Dreadnought" of June 23rd a letter from Mrs. Higdon, of the Strike School, Burston, where, it appears, some of the children are learning Esperanto. I can well suppose that the imagination of children must be fired by the possibility of corresponding in Esperanto with children in other countries who have different mother-tongues and differ in regard to habits, customs and outlook. I have seen a batch of postcards and letters, written in Esperanto and enclosing drawings and other curiosities dear to the heart of youngsters, received by children in a school in Warwickshire from children in a village in Hungary (just imagine the children trying to learn Hungarian!), and was very much impressed by the educational possibilities of such exchange. Am I wrong in imagining that, under the stimulus of correspondence in Esperanto with children in all parts of the world, geography ceases to be the study of lifeless maps with dots and splashes to represent towns and countries, and becomes a theme of interest? The dots and splashes already have for the children value as symbols representing the places where they have correspondents, and the children become eager to know more of the world in which their correspondents move.

But to answer Mrs. Higdon's question as to the pronunciation of the vowels. The pronunciation cannot exactly be represented by any equivalent English sounds. Generally speaking, I should say that the vowels in Esperanto (**a, e, i, o, u**) are pronounced as in Italian.

The pronunciation of **a, i, u** present no difficulty; their sounds are as in father, machine, rule (oo sound), respectively.

The difficulty arises with **e** and **o**. The vowel **e** is like the French é. In words like **sen, sen**-di, **ven**-di, the vowel **e** tends to be shortened, so that **sen** and **ven-** are pronounced practically as in "senn" and "venn." At any rate, that is the nearest equivalent one can give of the sounds used by Continental Esperantists, no matter what country they come from

Similarly with regard to the vowel **o**. In the words **nok-ton, son-di,** because the syllables containing **o** end with a consonant, the vowel tends to be shortened. The nearest equivalent in English is "nock-tonn," so rhyme with **knock, John,** and "**sonn**-dee."

On the contrary, when the vowel **e** occurs in a syllable, which is not closed by a consonant, as in **ve**-ni, **pe**-ni, the vowel tends to have its proper length, which is **midway** between the vowel-sound in **pen** and **pay; but in no case is it as long as the vowel in "pay."** Most text-books show the sounds of **veni, peni,** as if they were "vay-nee," "pay-nee." This is, without a doubt, incorrect What we have to do is to drop the **y** sound (i.e., the drawl) from these words, and pronounce **peni** just a shade longer than the word **penny,** because the vowel **e** occurs in a syllable which is not closed by a consonant.

Similarly with regard to **o.** In the words **do**-mo, **to**-no, the vowel **o** occurs in syllables which are not closed by a consonant; consequently, the vowel has a more open sound than the vowel-sounds in **nok-ton** (where each syllable is closed by a consonant, and is therefore shortened). For all that, the **o** should never be drawled as in the case with the **o** in the South of England. **The Esperanto o is formed with the lips rounded so that the little finger may be inserted between them.**

I do not claim infallibility in regard to the above advice concerning the pronunciation of the vowels. English people who are at all sensitive to sounds will have a shock if they listen on the Continent and pronounce the vowels **e** and **o** as if they were "ay" and **o** (drawled). The above advice is an attempt to arrive at sounds which more nearly approximate to the Continental vowel-sounds.

STUDENT.

MUSSOLINI AND MACDONALD.

An Italian comrade, Pietro Gualducci, writes to protest against the article on Benito Mussolini, written by Dr. Pellizzi, which appeared in the "Socialist Review," edited by Mr. J. R. Macdonald and published by the Independent Labour Party. He says:

"Had the article appeared in one of the Fascist papers, we should not have been surprised; but we are astonished that the leader of the British Labour Party should give it hospitality in an English Socialist paper. Mr. Macdonald should know as well as we the violence done by the Fascisti during the past two years.

"Dr. Pellizzi in this article declares that Benito Mussolini studied philosophy in foreign Universities, and that he is still a Socialist and anxious to promote co-operatives and industrial guilds for the benefit of the workers.

"All this is false; Mr. Macdonald should know that the dictator Mussolini has suppressed all freedom of meeting, and beside prohibiting the publication of their newspapers, has destroyed the printing machinery of his opponents. He has wrecked the halls and machinery of the Co-operatives, the Trade Unions and Socialist Societies. Mr. Macdonald has done a great dis-service to the Italian movement, and has mislead English workers by publishing this article.

"As to the dictator's studies at foreign Universities, this is the history of his youth. He was expelled from the Jesuit School, the Salesiani at Faenza, for lack of respect towards his fellow-students and for insubordination towards the teachers. He was the sorrow of his father, who could induce him neither to work nor to study. The father, being a Socialist, had the son made a member of the Socialist Party, in the hope that the example of comrades might improve his conduct. The father appealed to the Socialists of Forli to help him with his difficult son. From comradeship and solidarity they replied by raising funds to start a Socialist paper called the "Lotta di Classe" (The Class War), and made Mussolini the editor. Some time later Mussolini was sent to prison for fourteen months for libel, on account of an article in the 'Lotta di Classe,' and later for publishing a defence of King Humbert's assassination he only escaped imprisonment by fleeing to Switzerland.

"Mussolini lived in Switzerland for two years at the expense of his Socialist comrades. As to the studies he is alleged to have made at Lausanne and Geneva Universities, he never visited those institutions, except to borrow or beg a few shillings from friendly students.

"At last he was expelled from Switzerland, not for political reasons, but as a vagabond without visible means of subsistence. Proceeding to Austria, he was later expelled from there under the same charge.

"An amnesty for political offenders being granted in Italy, he returned to Forli and regained his position on the 'Lotta.' He now conducted an acrimonious attack upon the old Socialists, Turati and Prampolini, for their reformist tendency, and demanded the expulsion from the party of Bonomi and Bissolati, who had approved the imperialist war in Tripoli. He also demanded the expulsion of all Socialists who were Freemasons.

The majority of the Socialist Party were of the same opinion, and the violence of Mussolini's attacks on the minority, secured him the editorship of the Socialist daily the 'Avanti.'

"He held the 'Avanti' editorship until May 1915, at which time he was declaring that Italy must remain absolutely neutral in the European War. He quoted Prudhon and Louis Blanc in support of that standpoint, but his colleagues discovered that he was negotiating with French bankers to sell the policy of the 'Avanti' to the cause of bringing Italy into the war on the side of the Allies. The executive of the Socialist Party then expelled Mussolini for 'immorality.'

"He immediately started the 'Popolo d'Italia,' with the aid of money from the French Government and Italian Big Business. In the first article in his new paper he wrote that he would avenge himself on the Socialist Party. He still pretended to be a Socialist in order to influence Socialists to support the war.

"After the war Italian Big Business provided Mussolini with the means to organise his White Army, and promised him immunity for any crimes he might commit. He took a terrible vengeance on his late comrades.

"The famous Fascist march on Rome was announced in the Capitalist Press two months before it took place. The Government made no move to prevent it till the last moment. Then the Government announced repressive measures, but the King favoured Fascism and refused to sign the Government proclamation.

"The Fascisti were able to convey an army of 30,000 men with big guns and equipment on the Italian State railways. This was the result of a circular letter to the commander of each military division sent by Bonomi, the Minister of War, also a renegade Socialist.

"Having concentrated near Velletri, the Fascisti marched into Rome through the Porta Pia, by which, entered in 1870, the liberators of Rome from the Papal yoke.

"The King now called Mussolini to power.

"It is thought that Mussolini has made a revolution, but against which authority? Not against the Monarchy

"When Mussolini came to power he promised to abolish the war debt and to restore the value of Italian money. The lire is now at 105 to the £. He promised also the annexation of Fiume and Dalmatia by Italy, and that France would be made to give up Tunis. None of these things have happened. His Jingo Capitalist backers may desert Mussolini for his failure to carry out the programme. Perhaps he may yet turn Liberal in the hope of retaining power."

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

Women's Work in the Labour Party. (The Labour Party, 6d.) It is really a shame to distribute this pamphlet amongst working people whose consciousness of the injustices of the social system may not yet be awakened. At first sight it seems but a dry compendium of rules for taking minutes, preparing balance sheets, etc. Then one comes to the charts and lessons on Government, and discovers that they aim at a worship of Government "In the Central and Local Government chart" all things are seen converging towards the "King in Parliament." The other departments of Government, both Parliamentary and local, seem to be but minor ante-chambers surrounding his central State. Such a royalist chart has never been seen in modern times, we warrant. From the explanation accompanying it we take this extract:

"In Chart III. these are all shown. In the square in the middle is the 'King in Parliament.' This is the head of the Legislative and Executive Power. The Cabinet, that is the Government of the day, is the adviser of the King, and has the real Executive power. In Parliament, the House of Commons is the chief power and the Cabinet must have the support of a majority of the House of Commons in its favour or resign and make way for a new Cabinet. The Cabinet consists of the chief Ministers. Laws are passed by the House of Commons, and the House of Lords, and must then receive the consent of the King, who must act on the advice of the Cabinet who are his chief Ministers."

That poster again! One of the very best ways to help increasing the circulation is to see that your newsagent shows our poster.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Posterity will affirm that Mr. Maxton (Lab.) used an expression that was not exaggerated when he described as murderers Sir Frederick Banbury and all who initiated and supported the policy of cutting the grants of milk and food to necessitous mothers and infants in Scotland, and of closing the Scottish hospitals to children suffering from measles and whooping-cough. When the circular ordering these changes was issued the infant death-rate in Scotland had risen from 90 per 1,000 to 141 per 1,000 owing to an outbreak of measles, influenza, and whooping-cough. In Scotland the people are herded together more closely and under worse conditions than in Britain. In one-roomed and two-roomed houses, with beds built into the wall it is obviously impossible to isolate infectious cases. When the nursing mother is the only nurse for the child who is suffering from the disease, the mother, the patient, the infant, and the whole family must suffer in consequence, and the infection is certain to spread Sir Frederick Banbury intervened a " hear, hear " in support of the " economies " introduced at the expense of Scottish mothers and children, and continued his interjections until he provoked Mr. Maxton not merely to say that all responsible for the policy were murderers, **but that Sir Frederick Banbury himself was " one of the worst in the whole house," and that his action amounted to murder.**

We congratulate Mr. Maxton on his refusal to withdraw the epithet; and Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Wheatley, and the Rev. Campbell Stephen for repeating it and sharing ejection from the House.

What will amaze posterity is the conduct of the other Labour Members. Why did they allow these four to be put out for telling the truth? Why did not they force the authorities to take the same steps with them or suspend the sitting?

More amazing still was the conduct of the Labour Party Conference when it met on the heels of this episode. Did it acclaim the heroes of the expulsion and demand that their protest be followed by a reversal of the Government's policy? No; it coldly referred their action to the judgment of the Parliamentary Labour Party, as though they were charged as misdemeanants and must stand trial for their offence.

The Government and Sir Fredk. Banbury must have rubbed their hands very gleefully over the folly of the Labour Conference.

Mr. Macdonald, who tried to procure a withdrawal from Mr. Maxton, did not vote in the divisions taken to decide on the expulsion. Doubtless he was too busy conferring with the Government representatives. Indeed, the votes against the expulsion were very small; in the three divisions 70, 60 and 58 respectively. The following Labour Members did not vote:

D. Adams, C. G. Ammon, A. Barnes, Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, J. Brown, J. Buckle, Charles Roden Buxton, Noel E. Buxton, J. Cairns, Thomas Cape, H. C. Charlton, Rt. Hon. J. R. Clynes, Evan Davies, T. Gavan Duffy, Charles Duncan, Rev. H. Dunnico, D. M. Graham, William Graham, T. Greenall, T. E. Groves, C. D. Hardie, Vernon Hartshorn, Patrick Hastings, K.C., A. Hayday, Rt. Hon. John Hodge, Dan Irving, P. Johnson, Morgan Jones, R. T. Jones, T. L. Mardy Jones, David Kirkwood, H. B. Lees-Smith, J. Ramsay Macdonald, Andrews Maclaren, C. J. Mathew, K.C., V. McEntee, G. Middleton, R. C. Morrison, Robert Murray, Robert Nichol, G. H. Oliver, H. Parker, John Potts, R. Richards, Ben Riley, F. O. Roberts, Frank H. Rose, W. S. Rayce, James Sexton, Tom Shaw, C. H. Sitch, Philip Snowden, Ben Spoor, Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, Ben Tillett, W. J. Tout, Charles P. Trevelyan, H Twist, Stephen Walsh, D. Watts-Morgan, Sidney Webb, Col. J. C. Wedgwood, L. Mac N. Weir, J. C. Welsh, J. Wignall, Dr. J. H. Williams, R. J. Wilson, Robert Young.

Were they absent, or did they prefer not to vote?

LADY ASTOR AND HER BILL.

The " Daily Herald " and some other papers say that Lady Astor pummelled Sir Freedrick Banbury when he talked out her Bill. The " Manchester Guardian " says she tugged his coat tails while he was talking, and " warmly remonstrated with him " afterwards. Lady Astor says she did not strike Sir Freedrick Banbury; that she was not nervous about her Bill. As a matter of fact, the Government has starred the Bill as a Government measure, so it will be a breach of faith if the Government does not see that the Bill gets through. In any case, it was the Speaker who refused to allow the vote to be taken the other day; Sir Frederick Banbury's chatter was thus only incidental.

The affair seems to have been one of those little interludes which amuse the talking-shop but make no real difference to the people outside.

THE DOMESTIC SERVANT PROBLEM.

The domestic servant problem has been the rage in the papers recently. It will never be solved by enquiries and committees.

Women and girls are hurled into domestic service as if it were a sort of a social dust-heap, wherein one class of Society deposits what it considers the refuse of another class for which it has no further use save to pander to its own selfishness.

The employees of domestic servants consider work in their own homes too hard or too dirty, and quite beneath them. Yet they expect that another woman should tolerate it without complaining. Some of the women who are revolting against working in other women's houses do not object to doing it in their own homes. When employer and employed come into contact, individual and personal difficulties arise. As in the case of people who marry, they see one another unmasked, in a way that is not the case in businesses and professions. Little irritating things that cause discordance arise. One who possesses money does not necessarily also possess a sense of justice.

I have heard that housewives in California cannot get any help in the home, save that of Chinamen at fabulous prices. I suppose the housewives there use their brains to minimise labour for themselves; but where people keep someone else to do it they see how much they can pile on.

Some papers have been discussing the merits of servants as housewives, which seems very silly. Servants are human beings like any other class of worker, in spite of the mask Society puts on them.

The late Sir Gervaise Clifton, who wrote one of the finest histories of Jamaica, married seven servants from his own household. Six he buried in a mausoleum costing £50,000 (money cheap in those days!), but the seventh outlived him. Now here again the economic issue was involved, for it must have been almost an impossibility for those seven women to have loved that man sufficiently to have married him. It was a question of money, surely, with some of them.

The following story is the one I like best, and the one most likely to help in redeeming society. It is the story of Thomas Day, a novelist, who employed two servants in his home, whom he had secured from the Workhouse. One of them, when he proposed marriage to her, flatly refused him; the other became engaged to him, but she broke off the engagement because of his eccentricity. He was so much astonished at her courage in refusing such a good chance that he remained single all his life, and when he died left her £500 a year for life. These women had a little soul culture, what the world is most needing to-day, and is not dependent on any particular class for it. So long as we have marriages contracted under a capitalistic system, so long will the race be oversexed and discord, instead of harmony, emanate from the home, whence the springs of love should flow out into society and the world. Women are still, to a very large degree, in the position of waiting, Micawber-like, for a husband to turn up. The environment of the ordinary domestic servant only tends to emphasise this, for to be working at someone else's housework is less interesting than doing it for oneself.

Upton Sinclair said domestic work was a demoralising and degrading work. Therefore, it is no wonder the servant class prefer the ragtime ditty: " I want a husband, someone to call me dear, someone to love me and buy me ginger beer " to loftier music.

There is a tremendous lot of work that passes for domestic work that should not be done by women at all, and under a Communist system I cannot conceive chivalrous men wanting women to do it. Only under a no-money system shall we be able to bring this about and enable us to give of our best for love and for the good of the community as a whole. For where money is concerned, only the few can have sufficient to be comfortable, and there is always a fag-end wanting more to secure even common necessities.

The complaints that have been made have caused a rush to domestic service. What the employers want to see is about 200 applicants for every job, as is the case with other employment. I speak from experience as a domestic worker. After every job I have applied for have been several others besides. Only one can get the job. I am middle-aged and at a disadvantage. The outcry that more servants are needed is only a ruse of Capitalism to overwhelm the worker.

WANTED—MAKERS OF HISTORY.

History taught from a working-class standpoint can be made an effective weapon for working-class emancipation, but perhaps even working-class history has its dangers. Mankind is naturally conservative, the tendency of historical emphasis is to make it more so.

The capitalistic interpretation of history has many results on the minds of those who come within its purview, which means, of course, practically every one. One effect is the inculcation of the ideal of precedent to justify any departure from ordinary progression. We find this spirit pervading the Labour movement. Certain things simply mustn't be done—because there is no precedent for them.

The influence of the past is more unconscious than conscious—and the more dangerous accordingly. To get away from the past is impossible. We are the outcome of the past. To emphasise the present, and perhaps more particularly the future, is of paramount importance. If we are what the past has made us, the future depends on us. Our course of action cannot be decided by precent, only by what we decide is the right course because things are as they are and because we have seen a vision of things as they might be.

Rules, red tape, and precedents stifle the Labour Movement. Instead of being an elastic organisation to be moulded to suit the times and to serve the cause of working-class emancipation, we find the Trade Union Movement fettered by the incubus of regulations and minds ensluaved to the " necessity " of abiding by rules out of keeping with the spirit of energetic, forceful, full-blooded action, designed, intelligently directed, to achieve that status for the workers that decency, idealism and reason combine in demanding.

Slavery to the past, slavery to the present are bound up with the economic slavery of

When organisations become burdensome, let us shed them and build anew. Let us refuse to be moulded any longer by circumstances, especially the circumstances of our own making. Let us determine here and now, once and for all, to mould our circumstances, to be masters o four own destiny to-day.

BEE.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

A second list from Our Bookshop.

All Workers' Revolutionary Union of Workshop Committees	1½d.
Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic	3½d.
The Execution of an East London Boy	1d.
Law and Authority	1½d.
Red Paper on Executions and Atrocities Committed in Russia	1½d.
The Russian Plan for a League of Nations	1½d.
Programme of the Russian Communist Party	1½d.
The Working Class and their Children	1½d.
Liberal America and Soviet Russia	1d.
Lenin's Views on the Revolution	1d.
The Communist Song Book	2½d.
British Consul Replies to Anti-Bolshevik Slanders	1½d.
G. Zinoviev:	
The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism	2½d.
Albert Rhys Williams:	
The Red Funeral at Vladivostok	1½d.
Questions and Answers About Soviet Russia	1½d.
James Stewart:	
An Appeal to the Young	2½d.
Schumiatzki:	
The Aims of the Bolsheviki	2½d.
W. Schmidt:	
The Hungarian Revolution	3d.
Alice Riggs Hunt:	
Facts About Communist Hungary	1½d.
Maxim Litvinoff:	
On Soviet Russia	1d.
J. T. Walton Newbold:	
Capitalism and the Counter-Revolution	1½d.
A. Ransome:	
The Truth About Russia	1½d.
John Reed:	
Red Russia I.	4d.
,, ,, II.	3d.
Philip Kurinsky:	
The Intellectual and the Worker	9d.
Industrial Unionism and Revolution	9d.
Mary Marcy:	
Shop Talks on Economics	9d.
S. Pankhurst, P. Lynch, M. O'Callaghan:	
Rebel Ireland	2½d.
E. Sylvia Pankhurst:	
Housing and the Workers' Revolution	1½d.
The Schooling of the Future	1½d.
Soviet Russia as I saw it	1/2
Writ on Cold Slate	1/2
Marx and Engels:	
Manifesto of the Communist Party	3½d.
N. Lenin:	
The Chief Task of Our Times	1½d.
A. W. Humphrey:	
Life in Russia To-day	1½d.
The Allies' Crime Against Soviet Russia	1½d.
W. F. Hay:	
The Logic of the Machine	2½d.
Clara Cole:	
The Castle in the Air	1½d.
Parliament The People's Enemy	1½d.
Dustheap Alley and The Living Tomb	1½d.
Belgium Never Neutral	1d.
The Message	1d.
Discovered: The New Armament Ring	1½d.
D. Chadwick:	
Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman	10/-
Defoe:	
Journal of the Plague Year	2/-
Robinson Crusoe	2/-
F. E. Green:	
The Tyranny of the Countryside 3/- and	5/-
James Connolly:	
Labour in Ireland	4/6
R. Palme Dutt:	
The Two Internationals	1/6
Civil War in France	1/8
Albert Jay Nock:	
The Myth of a Guilty Nation	2/6
Marie Stopes:	
Married Love	6/-
Radiant Motherhood	6/-
Wise Parenthood	3/6
Gold in the Wood	1/2
Wm. Z. Foster:	
The Railroaders' Next Step—Amalgamation	1/6
The Bankruptcy of the American Labour Movement	1/6
Barton:	
World History for the Workers	2/6
G. Bernard Shaw:	
The Miraculous Revenge	1/-
Upton Sinclair:	
The Spy	2/9
McCabe:	
Robert Owen (paper)	2/-
(cloth)	3/6
The Evolution of Mind	10/6
A B C of Evolution	2/-
The Evolution of Civilisation	2/-
Ice Ages: The Story of the Earth's Revolutions	2/-
Prehistoric Man	2/-
Vitezlav Halek:	
Our Grandfather	9½d.
Poldik the Scavenger	4½d.
M. Bakunin:	
God and the State	8½d.
J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D.:	
Christianity and Civilisation	2½d.
Anatole France:	
The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard	2/-
The Human Tragedy	9½d.
Maxim Gorky:	
Twenty-six Men and a Girl	9½d.
Thomas Paine:	
The Age of Reason	9½d
The Brothers Capek:	
The Insect Play	2/1½
Karl Capek:	
R. U. R.	2/7½
L. A. Motler:	
The Revolution To-morrow	2½d
Poems	10d
C. Edwardson:	
Study Outlines of Industrial History	6d.
Henry George:	
Progress and Poverty	2/-
Francesco Ferrer:	
Origin and Ideals of the Modern School	6d.
James Leakey:	
Introduction to Esperanto	4d.
Charles Darwin:	
The Origin of Species	1/6
The Descent of Man	9/-
Voyage of the Beagle	2/6
M. Delaisi:	
Oil	2/6
Wm. Cobbett:	
1817. The Last Hundred Days of English Freedom	5/-
History of the Protestant Revolution	2/6
Rural Rides (2 vols.)	4/-
English Grammar	2/6
Cottage Economy	3/6
Peter Kropotkin:	
Conquest of Bread	2/2
Fields, Factories and Workshops	2/2
Modern Science and Anarchism	1/1½
Mutual Aid	2/2
The Wage System	2½d.
The Breakdown of Our Industrial System	8d.
J. H. Breasted:	
Ancient Times: History of the Early World	10/6
Outlines of European History, Part I.	10/6
A Short Ancient History	7/6
Mary Marcy:	
Shop Talks on Economics	8d.
Stories of the Cave People	6/6
Industrial Autocracy	8d.
Rhymes of Early Jungle Folk	10/-
Lewis H. Morgan:	
Ancient Society	9/-
G. W. Foote:	
Bible and Beer	1½d
Christianity and Progress, with a chapter on Mohammedanism	2½d
The Philosophy of Secularism	2½d.
F. J. Gould:	
Brave Citizens	2/6
Health and Honour: Sex Light for Young Readers 2/- and	1/-
The Children's Book of Moral Lessons (each series)	2/6
A Concise History of Religion, I.	3/6
,, ,, III.	4/6
The Children's Plutarch	3/3
Common-sense Thoughts on a Life Beyond 1/- and	1/9
Gerhardt Hauptmann:	
The Sunken Bell: A Fairy Play	2/-
The Weavers	2/-
Mazzini:	
Letters to an English Family (Vols. II. and III.)	16/-
Duties of Man, etc.	2/6
The Duties of Man (second hand)	1/-
Col. R. G. Ingersoll:	
Faith and Fact	2½d
The Foundations of Faith	2½d
Creeds and Spirituality	1½d
The Christian Religion	3½d

Send for the Catalogue of the "Dreadnought" Publishers and Bookshop. It will be supplied free on application to 152 Fleet Street, E.C.4.

THE "ONE BIG UNION BULLETIN"
(Canada's Foremost Labour Paper).

The One Big Union seeks to organise the workers on class lines. Read about it.

Eugene Sue's marvellous story: "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," now running in serial form.

10/- per year; 5/- six months.

Pioneer Buildings, 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Canada.

WANTED.—Small second-hand mill for grinding oyster shells for poultry.—Address "Oyster," c/o "Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

INDOOR MEETINGS.

Sunday, July 15th.—Gladstone Hall, New Cross Road (near "Marquis"), 8 p.m. Debate: "Capitalism v. Communism." Speakers: J. Murray, M.P., Sylvia Pankhurst.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Friday, July 6th.—The Grove, Hammersmith, 8 p.m. Norah Smyth and others.

Sunday, July 8th.—Victoria Park, 11.30 a.m. W. Hall, N. Smyth. **Finsbury Park,** 7.30 p.m., N. Smyth and others.

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward: £28 9s. 10d.

Irene Smith, 1/- (weekly); Mrs. Thackeray, 2/6; Per Mrs. Cahill, Workers' Stores, 5/-; Per Mrs. Bullard, 1/-; E. Palmer, 2/- (1/- monthly); Norwich Comrades, 2/6 (monthly); Collections: Hammersmith, 3/1½; Finsbury Park, 2/8; Debate, 16/2½. Total for week, £1 16s. Total, £30 5s 10d

We need more than this to keep the propaganda for Communism going. Try to make it £10 next week. If every reader will send 6d. it will bring us nearer the £1,000.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152 Fleet Street, London E.C. 4, and printed by the Agend aPress, Ltd. (T.U.) at 10, Wine Office Court, London, E.C.4.